1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

A knotted cord or quipu (*dätwasdjigä*) is used to add formality to an invitation to another tribe or in accepting an invitation from them. The cord, which is carried by the messenger, contains a knot for each sleep which will elapse before the meeting. One knot is cut off each night: the last one, which is by itself at the end of the cord, represents the meeting. Thus the Havasupai sent one, made by the reservation policeman, to the Navaho at large by a member of that tribe. This had seventeen knots and referred to a dance held in September, 1919. Two instances of quipus brought by Walapai were noted; both invitations of local chiefs to mourning ceremonies. On August 26, 1921 a Navaho, who was not a chief, gave one with ten knots to Supai Jack, a prominent man, with the information that the Navaho would arrive at the Havasupai village in the afternoon or evening of September fourth. 805 211 648

These are not used as mnemonic devices, nor do they use notched sticks in this way.

A family may keep track of the return of a traveler by marking on a stone or post, erasing a mark for each sleep as it elapses. 211

Six directions are recognized: the four cardinal points, the zenith, and the nadir. 823

north	mätávigä
west	nyatdqovi (sun's setting place)
south	käwávigä
east	nyädjä'dlovä (sun's rising place)
zenith	amjávigä or tmiatávigä (middle of the sky)
nadir	matvidlä or ämötävigä (middle of the ground)

The place where the speaker is (ämötätu"waiyü'g, ground where I am), is not considered a direction. In naming the directions they are given in the order north, west, south, and east.[1] There is no color-direction association. 822 151

Color terms are as follows:—

hyágä or hyädj	black
hyuu'gä	brown
ähwö'lägä	red
gwalaa'gä	pink
ägwä'g	yellow
a,hwat'vä	white
vaatwä	blue-green
vahaadgä (?)	blue
vahaadtävigä	green

[1] The Navaho order is east, south, west, north, zenith, and nadir (Franciscan Fathers, 55; Stephen, 64, 889.); that of the Hopi north, west, south, and east (Fewkes, (a), 23). That of the Pima in lighting a funeral pyre is south, east, north, and west (Curtis, II, 73). The San Carlos Apache ritual is like the Navaho, east, south, west, and north (Goddard, (f), 1.) [171]

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NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

822 151 The familiar blue-green confusion occurs here, but the Indians of course recognise and designate the difference between the colors whenever the occasion requires. Spotted (n,ádlgd) and variegated are not colors.

Comparative Notes

171 805 The beginning of winter (mid-November) as the initial point of the Havasupai calendar has its counterpart throughout the Basin, Plains, and the interior of British Columbia, according to Cope's summary.[1] In this vicinity, the Navaho year begins about October[2]; the Yavapai in September, and the Southern Diegueño in September or November.[3] This extends the distribution of this type further south. On the other hand the calendar turns on the solstices in the Pueblos and in southern California.

The month names are in general descriptive as in most North American calendars. Unlike the Hopi, Hano, Zuñi, and Southern Diegueño, these are not divided into two series of six repeated names.

171 821 Some suggested identities among the constellations recognised by tribes in this area follow[4].

Luiseño	*No. Diegueño*	*So. Diegueño*	*Yuma*	*Mohave*	*Yavapai*	*Havasupai*
		Hand (5 stars)				Hoop (5 stars) (Month name, Hand + to come)
		Begins year				Begins year
		November or September				November
		Buzzard (in third month)				
		January or November				
		Clûk (in fourth month)				Coyote (in second (month)
		December?				December
						Cold star
						(Pleiades?)
						February

[1] Cope, map 5.
[2] Matthews, Navaho, 88.
[3] Carlsmith, 230; Spier, (a), 347. Cope shows the Yavapai year (called Tonto), marked by acorn-gathering in September, with the harvest or summer type of calendar beginning, but acorn-gathering belongs with the winter round of activities in this region. The Diegueño seem to channel with the coincident type, but there is no authority for this. Their year begins in September (or November, see below) when the weather turns sharp.
[4] Du Bois, (a), 166; Waterman, footnote 96; Spier, (a), 318, 327; Trippel, 379; Carlsmith, 230.

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NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

was used by people long ago. Pete cut across by a new road to intercept him, there he waited and watched, but the ghost never came. Perhaps the ghost made him drowsy. The ghost did not look exactly like a man, rather like a man's shadow. The horse was not afraid at first, but by and by the ghost looked like a man; then he shied, bucked, and refused to follow him.

The souls of dead men are said to go to the north where they live well, but what the hereafter is like and even its location is indefinite in the minds of informants. It is not known if the soul of a suicide also goes there. Objects have no souls, but one informant stated that dead trees and weeds were in this land of souls.[1]

Reference is made in a myth to Pagiyógà (man+to draw after) who draws souls into the sky. According to Sinyella this concept existed when he was a boy, whereas Pagiyóvà (man+make alive again), who makes people live after they die, is the white man's God. Manakadja identifies Pagiyóvà with Dudjipa, one of the two culture heroes.

The older speculative writers on the origins of religion have placed so much weight on the savage's confusion of his identity or his soul, or both, with certain illusory phenomena, as reflections, shadows, dream apparitions, etc., that a consideration of the Havasupai ideas may well be given at this place. Neither the dream-actor, the reflection of one's face in the water, nor one's shadow bears any relation whatever to the soul. The attitude to the mirrored image is our own. Two words for shadow are used; *ulitapod*[2], that of an animal (man, dog, or insect), and pá'dazi-pá, that of any other object (cloud, tree, or house). The distinction is of name only; the shadows do not differ in kind.

> The mirrored image goes with me; when I leave the pool it leaves with me. When the sun shines, my shadow shows; when it ceases to shine perhaps it returns to my body. (Sinyella).
>
> I think my shadow goes to the sun, because it fades as the sun ceases to shine. No; when I walk into another shadow, mine becomes merged in it. Wherever I go, it goes. At night it may be with me, or may have gone off somewhere; I do not know. (Jess)

Spirits, in distinction to souls, are limited in number. Almost without exception they are shaman's familiars. Nobody has seen a spirit (*atsuá*[3]). Each shaman has one within his chest. When he wants to discover something he sends the spirit travelling, perhaps for a day and night. The shaman goes out into the darkness; his spirit is heard hollering and whistling to him from a distance. It re-enters his mouth, makes noises, and talks. The shaman shuts his eyes and apparently sings, but in reality it is the spirit telling what it saw.

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[1] No food offerings are made to the dead.
[2] Possibly identical with *ulatsud*, medicine.

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was [386] stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual [301] matter. Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no [822] emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony.

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In [768] each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby.

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are [783] buried. Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in [826] pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy.

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, 881 her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who 515 meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 302

881 515 302 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos throughout her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.

It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

[841] [177] If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it, because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

386 415 Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 302 [114] [822] Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal communication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

baby bottle"[volcanic bombs?]. The shaman gathered these and tied them in cloth. Then the people advised him to take one more, a smooth opaque white one that could be rubbed on patients' chests to eliminate sickness. The shaman returned with his rocks to Rain Tank and told "sickness that he didn't want it to be going around". The ground around turned white as though it were snow covered. The shaman awakened but later reported that he had felt the dream had not been complete. 756 787

The first spirit he had seen mounted on the white horse continued to come in dreams, teaching him new songs until he knew about twenty, each for a different illness. Errors in singing them would harm the patient. However, if the shaman realized his error he could correct it by beginning the song again. These songs followed a definite sequence, outlining the case history of the patient. The number of songs also increased in direct proportion to the severity of the illness. For one patient, our informant sang six songs and repeated them seven times on each of four nights. Patients were sung over for four nights if the illness was severe or if the spirit of a deceased shaman was suspected of attempting to exert counter-influence to the cure. In the example under consideration, the spirit of Rock Jones, a relative, was under such suspicion. 756 787 533 755

The first night the shaman was not able to diagnose the illness. Even though he sang all night he made no attempt to contact his spirit until the second evening. If a shaman wished to communicate with his spirit he did so only at the end of the night's singing. He put his own spirit, plus that of a female, in the patient. The female spirit, one of the sky people[see p. 2], never dies and is thought to remain inside the patient so long as the shaman desires. In this instance the female spirit was invoked because the patient was a woman. If a woman wished to die the female spirit stayed with her a long time. Under other circumstances the shaman would invoke only his own spirit, which would remain inside the patient only until the conclusion of the treatment. Sometimes it would be inserted from the shaman's mouth, at other times from the head or arm. Our informant used both techniques, placing his hand on top of the patient's head and telling the spirit to enter, as well as blowing and sucking on the patient's throat. Additional sucking could be accomplished on the afflicted part of the body. 756 756 787

Various illnesses assumed specific form and color as they became apparent to the practitioner. These would first take on false, undiagnostic shapes in an attempt to trick the shaman, and were thought not to reveal their true form until the last song. For example, pneumonia was round, smokegray, and mixed with blood. Flu was round but blue and silver. It is worth recording, as an acculturational note, that less serious illnesses were reported to appear to the shaman in the form and color of playing 753 755 822

1753
755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
●822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

212 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Iliff (1954) and James (1911,
265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]